11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point
594 made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through
596 time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to [120] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4.
174 It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting
592 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary
594 family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit.
63 I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been
174 established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by
[114] informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,[2] which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[2] [See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly.

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951.

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart.

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system.

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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